

THIRTY-FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

February, 1865.

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REPORT.

The swiftly moving panorama of the last two years has brought before us a succession of events so grand and wonderful, that our eyes are bewildered as we gaze, and our hearts overwhelmed with emotions which struggle in vain for utterance. In the midst of our fulfilled prophecies, our answered prayers, we stand astonished, and reverently exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" A year ago to-day, as we recounted the triumphs of our cause, we deplored the continued existence and the evil effects of the Fugitive Slave Statute of 1850, in which our National legislation reached the acme of its shame. To-day we must look backward to find it; and, as we look, we see following it in rapid procession other dark forms of its kindred, gone to share its unhallowed grave. These are victories won against the Slave Power, whereby our National Statute Book is cleansed, and partial justice awarded to an insulted and injured race; yet they are almost forgotten in the grander triumphs over which

we sing psalms to-day. And while, with quivering lip and full heart, we take up the song, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth good-will to ransomed slaves and a repentant Nation!" we only half realize the meaning of the words, "Maryland is Free;" "Louisiana has abolished Slavery;" "In Arkansas slaveholding is declared a felony!" "Free Missouri greets her sister, Pennsylvania!" These words, these shouts of glorious victory, have rung through the land since the last year opened upon us. How they have thrilled our souls they only can know who have battled, through half a life-time, against a gigantic system of wrong supported and nourished by the State and the Church.

It was in the month of March, 1864, that Arkansas adopted, by an immense majority, a Constitution forever prohibiting slavery. Of the 17,000 votes cast in that election, only two hundred were in the negative. And within the last three months, the holding or selling slaves in that State has been judicially declared to be "a crime amounting to a felony."

In that portion of the old State of Virginia now in the possession of the forces of the United States, and under a loyal State government, a Convention was also held in March, for the purpose of re-modelling the Constitution of the State, which, on the 10th day of that month, decided, with only one dissenting vote, to adopt the following provisions:

"First. Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, is hereby abolished and prohibited in this State forever.

"Second. Courts of competent jurisdiction may apprentice minors of African descent, on like conditions provided by law for apprenticing white children.

"Third. The General Assembly shall make no law establishing or recognizing property in human beings."

On the 5th of September the new Constitution of Louisiana was adopted; which declares that "Slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, are hereby forever abolished and prohibited throughout the State. The Legislature shall make no law recognizing the right of property in man." The old Constitution of Louisiana restricted the power of voting to "*white male citizens*;" the new one declares that "the Legislature shall have power to pass laws extending suffrage to such persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the Government, or by intellectual fitness, may be deemed entitled thereto."

Quick following these glad tidings came the herald of Maryland's redemption, calling us to share in the joy and thanksgiving of fifty thousand slaves made freemen, by the voluntary act of the people of that State, on the first day of November. How heartily Philadelphia responded to that call, let her daily

journals, on the morning, and her celebration on the evening, of that memorable day testify. We strove to express our grateful joy in the formula of Resolutions, congratulating our sister State upon her redemption from the curse which had so long oppressed her; but we felt how far transcending all description was the grandeur of the event; how much more intense than any words the emotion it inspired. No more shall the accursed system be a wall of partition between the States which God has joined together; no more shall Maryland's returning slaves, re-captured on our soil, shake off the dust of their feet against us, as they cross, in anguish, our southern border, testifying to the injustice and cruelty of Pennsylvania; but, henceforward, both repentant Commonwealths shall strive together to make atonement for the past.

While our hearts were still throbbing with this new emotion, a voice from the far West called aloud, "Bless me also!" and Free Missouri stretched her hand across the mountains, and grasped the hand of Pennsylvania in fraternal embrace. This offering to Freedom made memorable the opening year, for it was on the eleventh day of January, 1865, that the people of the State of Missouri, in Convention assembled, by a vote of sixty against four, ordained that thereafter slavery should cease to exist in that State, and that "all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."

Tennessee has avowed her purpose to consecrate anew the 22d of February, by sealing the doom of the accursed system on her soil; and West Virginia, whose Constitution limited its existence to twelve years, has, within the last few days, through her Legislature, abolished it forever.

Even the glory of all these triumphs of Liberty is eclipsed by one far greater. Henceforward the most sacred day in American history, whose anniversary shall be the Sabbath of our year, will be the 31st of January, 1865. On that day it was decreed by the Congress of the United States, "That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution, viz.:

Article 18th, Section 1st. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2d. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation."

This Amendment, adopted by the Senate, on the 8th of April, 1864, by a vote of thirty-eight ayes and six nays, was finally approved by the House of Representatives on the 31st ult., by a vote of 119 ayes and 56 nays.

The wild applause which followed the announcement of the vote, the shouts of members on the floor, mingling with the cheers of men and women in the galleries, was the acclaim of a Nation ringing through its Capitol. We wait the voice of the State Legislatures, through whom the people will once more speak, pronouncing, as we confidently believe, the *final* doom of American Slavery. And as we wait, our souls are thrilling with the tumultuous meeting of the memories of thirty years and the great facts of the present hour. We look back to the beginnings of our enterprise, so weak in the outward appearance; so strong in the might of indwelling Truth and Righteousness. We live again through its days of darkness and storm; we clasp again the hand which rescued us when struggling with the waves; we hear again the voice which, in the darkest hour, whispered, "Lo! I am with you always; even unto the end."

Although this one great victory includes our lesser triumphs, these are worthy of record, as indicating the steps of our National progress during the year.

The closing days of the first session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress will be memorable by the repeal of all the statutes providing for the recovery of fugitive slaves; by the prohibition of the Domestic Slave Trade; and by their decree that henceforward there shall be no exclusion of witnesses, on account of color, in the Courts of the United States. With these en-

gements of righteousness we have, also, to record the recent passage, by the Senate, of the Resolution giving freedom to the wives and children of colored soldiers. The names of those Senators,* by whose persistent efforts these triumphs of freedom were won in Congress, and whose fidelity to the cause of Human Liberty, through long and weary years when the name of abolitionist was odious in the land, have proved the strength of their devotion to the Right, will be remembered with honor and gratitude by the generations who are to enjoy the peace won through such struggles and such triumphs.

To present a full record of the progress which the Anti-Slavery cause has made during the last year, would be to write the history of a Nation in its political, social and religious life. That renovating process, working steadily in the Nation's heart, reveals itself everywhere around us. We hear it in the new inspiration which the pulpit has caught; we read it in the strange and welcome utterance of the press; we feel it in the atmosphere which pervades every social circle and every public assembly. Since our last anniversary, the dying hand of Slavery has loosed its grasp of the judicial sceptre of the Nation; and the Angel of Liberty holds and guards it now. Beneath that sceptre a black man stands an

* Hon. Henry Wilson and Hon. Charles Sumner.

accredited lawyer in the Supreme Court of the United States.

In our last Annual Report we recorded the fact that we had memorialized the Legislature of our own State against the adoption of a measure, proposed in that body, to prevent the immigration of colored persons into the State. He would be a bold man who would now dare to propose such a measure in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The citizenship of the black man is asserting itself; and his rights are demanding the respect so long denied them. Our National Government has wisely ceased to aid schemes for colonizing a useful class of its own citizens; and has justly determined that the protection of its passports shall extend over the colored man, equally with the white. The events which have startled and gladdened our souls during the past year, when contrasted with the condition of this nation four years ago, exceed the enthusiast's wildest dream of progress. Looking down the vista of those four years, what eye could have seen the jubilant celebrations of the First of August, in the city of Washington and on the soil of South Carolina? What ear could have heard the voice of a Vice-President elect of the United States saying to the assembled slaves of Nashville, "With the past history of the State to witness, the present condition to guide, and its future to encourage me, I do hereby proclaim freedom, full, broad, and unconditional, to

every man in Tennessee." What ear, listening ever so intently, could have caught the strange sound of the voices of slaves suddenly made free,—of an outcast race which had suddenly found a home, as they burst into rapturous song:

"My country! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing."

The care which the Nation, in the midst of its mortal struggle, is bestowing upon its Freedmen, is indicative of moral growth. We hail with joy the recent act of the Government which has invested Gen. Saxton with complete control of the affairs of the Freedmen in all the Port Royal Islands, "and thirty miles inland, and all the coast of Georgia and Florida in our possession." The fact that the superintendence and government of these newly emancipated slaves is committed to such men as Gen. Saxton and Reuben Tomlinson, whose fidelity to the interests of the colored race is well proven, is surely some evidence of a National purpose to execute justice, long delayed. And not only through the Government, but directly from our citizens, has sympathy and aid been extended liberally to these rescued victims of tyranny. From the North, and East, and West, have these offerings come, not only in large gifts of money, but in the richer gifts of self-sacrificing missionary labor. On many a plantation where, lately, the slave toiled in

ignorance and fear, now sit his friends and teachers, who have left their Northern homes to devote themselves to the arduous labor of his intellectual and moral training. Men and women, in the freshness of youth, in the strength of riper age, have given themselves to this work with zeal and alacrity worthy the high mission. Among these are many new friends of the slave, and many who espoused his cause long ago, and faithfully adhered to it through its dark days. Some of our own fellow-laborers have entered this new field, and are diligently and faithfully performing the duties of Superintendents or Teachers in the South, or filling important posts in Freedmen's Associations in the North.

Corresponding to the moral progress of the State, do we find the progress of the Church. Doors at which enslaved millions long knocked, in vain, are opened to them now; pulpits, long silent, eloquently plead their cause; and ecclesiastical bodies no longer riven by anti-slavery discussions, admit their claims, and demand justice in their behalf. The General Conference of the Methodist Church, which assembled in this city in May last, amended its General Rule on Slavery, so that it should forbid all slaveholding, or buying or selling slaves, by the members of that Church. This amendment was adopted by one hundred and ninety eight, affirmative, against eight, negative, votes. Churches of other denominations through

out the North have, also, by their utterances proved that, in the light of our Revolution, they have read their past delinquencies and their present duties.

He who runs may read unerringly the signs of the times, which are now revealed to our wondering eyes. Not only in Philadelphia do regiments of colored soldiers march through the streets, receiving the applause of the citizens, but in the city of New York, where, eight months previously, "the African race (in the language of the New York Times) were literally hunted down like wild beasts," the 20th Regiment of United States Colored Troops "marched through the gayest avenues and business thoroughfares," and were "everywhere saluted with waving handkerchiefs, descending flowers, and with the acclamations and plaudits of countless beholders." The chief literary institution of New York, in the person of its president, welcomed them: fashionable ladies of New York presented them "a gorgeous stand of colors;" and in an address signed by their own hands, said to these colored soldiers, "Remember that it is an emblem of love and honor from the daughters of this great Metropolis, to her brave champions in the field; and that they will anxiously watch your career, glorying in your heroism, ministering to you when wounded and ill, and honoring your martyrdom with benedictions and tears." Well might the New York journals

say that "such developments are infallible tokens of a new epoch."

Not less wonderful was the sight of Frederick Douglass delivering a public lecture in the city of Baltimore. Maryland's escaping slave returning, after years of perilous exile, to proclaim to her citizens the principles of Universal Liberty and Human Brotherhood!

In 1835, George Thompson came to this country to plead the cause of Freedom. From the hour of his arrival to that of his departure, he was followed by insult and persecution. Hotels refused him shelter; the press reviled him; the church denounced him; mobs hunted him from city to city; until, to save his life, he was obliged to depart from our shores. In 1864, he came again; he lands in Boston, and the Governor of Massachusetts hastens to do him honor. The city which sought his life welcomes him with a public ovation. New York and Philadelphia open and fill their largest public edifices to grace his reception. His progress through our Northern States is a series of ovations. Towns and villages which once drove him from their borders, crowd their halls and churches to listen to his words. Newspapers, which vied with one another in slandering him, are eloquent in his praise. Churches, which anathematized him, speak his name with benedictions. A university of his own church crowns him with her laurel. In the

chief city of a Slave State, he addresses an applauding audience. He goes to Washington, and the Hall of the House of Representatives opens to receive him; Representatives, Senators, and Members of the Cabinet gather around him; and the President of the United States bids him welcome to the Country and the Capital. Witnessing these things, we realize, as never before, the moral Revolution through which we are passing; for, in the eyes of this Nation, George Thompson represents the American slave.

From these bright pages, in the history of our Nation's new life, we reluctantly turn away: but a faithful chronicle of the year must contain facts which it is painful to contemplate. It has been truly said that "the Nation's record, upon the simple question of paying its negro soldiers, will never be referred to with pride, by any one who is either just or generous." The call of the President for black troops has been responded to with ardent loyalty and heroic sacrifice by freemen and escaping slaves. The peril which these men go to meet, is not only that which the brave white soldier confronts: wounds, death on the battle field, or the fate of a prisoner of war. "Murdered by their captors;" "returned into slavery;" is the record of the fate which they contemplate as possibly theirs, when they enlist in their country's service. Yet they march, unflinching, to the field. It is a little thing to require such service with meanness. It

surely is not much to recompense with the pay awarded to the white soldier, the more perilous service of the black one. Standing together for the Nation's defence, their legal status equal, they have not yet received equal justice at the hands of the Government, even in the matter of pecuniary reward, which is wholly within the control of the Government. For the tragedy of Fort Pillow, for the still more terrible fate of some who have fallen into the hands of their enraged masters and captors, what recompense or atonement can be offered? The promise of equal protection with the white soldier has not been kept towards these long-suffering men. Whatever may be said concerning the impracticability, the inexpediency, or the inhumanity of "retaliation," on the part of our Government towards the Rebels, one thing is certain, that no discrimination, in that respect, can be justly made between the white and colored soldiers. We regret to record the fact that it has been made, and made in favor of the white man. From Generals in the Army, and Statesmen in the Cabinet, comes the sad confession that the Nation has failed to do justice to her colored soldiers. As a natural consequence of this failure, those soldiers and their officers have been exposed to the insults of their white comrades; insults from which neither their own bravery nor the uniform of the United States was sufficient to protect them. And these are the men who, on many a bloody field,

have been foremost in rushing to the post of danger, and the last to leave it. These are the men of whom our generals testify that braver soldiers were never led into battle. When the history of this war shall be fully written, the valor, the heroism, and the unexampled patience of the black man, will illumine many a page; and in that light will be clearly revealed the tardy justice which the Nation meted out to him.

The injustice towards our colored population, practised by the citizens, and permitted by the courts, in Philadelphia, which we have been obliged annually to record, still exists. It is with grief and humiliation that we state this fact, so disgraceful to our city, that our colored fellow-citizens are excluded from most of our railway cars. Neither Christianity nor true Democracy has yet sufficiently inspired this community, to dissipate the unholy prejudice which manifests itself in this injurious form. Public sentiment enables the Railway Companies and the Courts to defy the legal obligation resting upon all these Companies, as common carriers, to carry passengers without distinction of color. The outrages which have been committed in our cars, during the last year, suggest the need of missionaries of a purer religion than that in which such a community has been educated. A father, carrying his sick child, in haste to reach his home; mothers with their infants in their arms; weary-footed men and women returning from

the business and labors of the day; in the heat of summer, and the storms of winter, have been refused admission to the cars, or compelled to stand on the platforms, and have, also, in some instances, been violently ejected from them.

During the last year, unusual efforts have been made in defense of the rights thus resisted, and not wholly without success. A few individuals adopted the plan of visiting the meetings of the Presidents and the Directors of the Railway Companies, and urging upon them the claims of our colored population to the use of their cars. They were received and listened to with respect; and they pursued this labor with untiring assiduity. Many other persons made their protests in the cars; never losing an opportunity of defending the rights of an insulted colored citizen to the use of a public conveyance. Some resorted to prosecutions before the courts, which, we regret to say, were rarely sustained by those who should have been the ministers of justice.

The Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania, addressed a circular to the Board of Presidents of the City Passenger Railroads, remonstrating against this injustice, and asking for redress. Our own Society, also, in November last, issued an Appeal to the Directors of these Companies, a copy of which was sent to each President, with a request that it should be presented to the Board of Directors.

From one of these a reply was received, promising attention to the subject; and repeated verbal assurances were given by another that his influence, relative to the question, was always given in favor of the equal rights of the citizens to use the cars, irrespective of class or complexion.

The subject has been kept before the public by our newspapers, both editorially and by correspondents. Narratives by eye-witnesses, of illegal and inhuman treatment of men and women, by conductors or passengers, have been published with indignant rebukes, week after week.

That all these measures were, in some degree, efficacious, we have cheering evidence in the fact that, on the 10th of January, the stockholders of the Philadelphia and Darby Railroad Company unanimously decided "that no discrimination ought to be made in the use of the public cars, to the exclusion of any person, except such as is intended to secure good behaviour and general comfort;" and requested their Board of Directors to adopt such regulations as should thereafter permit colored persons to ride in their cars. The Directors at once obeyed the wish thus expressed, and opened their cars to all our citizens. About the same time the Manayunk and Fifth and Sixth Street Companies abolished the odious distinction upon their lines; and the Ridge Avenue Company yielded so far as to admit colored passengers into some of the cars on their road.

We regret to say that, within the last few days, the Fifth and Sixth Street Company has disgraced itself, and violated its charter, by announcing that after the 10th inst., the order admitting colored persons to their cars shall be rescinded, except on special cars to be appropriated to their use.

On the 18th of January, a public meeting of citizens was held to discuss the subject, and take further measures respecting it. A very large audience assembled; and the speakers represented nearly all classes of our citizens, radical and conservative. The expression of opinion was emphatic and unanimous; and from its direct influence, and the labors of the Committee appointed as its representative, we anticipate new triumphs over this cruel form of prejudice against a large class of our loyal, patriotic citizens.

Our city railway Companies, feeling, doubtless, the pressure of public sentiment, have recently resorted to what they call a vote of the people, as a test of this question; and instructed their Conductors to receive the ballots of all persons riding in the cars, on the 30th and 31st days of January, upon the question: "Shall colored persons be allowed to ride in all the cars?" Of these votes, the Conductors were, necessarily, the inspectors and judges. The Directors could not be unaware that the proceeding was a mockery; it is strange that they could suppose that an

intelligent community would be misled by so transparent a delusion.

There is another battle to be fought, and another victory to be won, against this spirit of prejudice, before Philadelphia will deserve the name of a Christian city. In our temples of religion the black man is still compelled to kneel apart from his fellow-worshippers, when they bow in prayer to Him who is "no respecter of persons." But there are pulpits here, whose occupants are earnest and faithful in rebuke of this unchristian practice; and we cherish the hope that this bitter fruit of slavery will die with the tree which bore it.

The work of our Society, during the past year, has been, in common with all Anti-Slavery Associations, to exhort and entreat the Nation to cleanse itself thoroughly from its sin of oppression, and leave no stain upon its banner. We have memorialized Congress in behalf of the Constitutional Amendment; and also petitioned that body to "require, as a condition of the return of the revolted States to the Union, the adoption of a Republican form of Government, in so far as this: that there shall be no distinction in the conditions of citizenship, or the rights of citizens, based on the existence or non-existence of African blood." A portion of our funds has, as usual, been devoted to the circulation of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and the Liberator. We have carefully

watched each national event, in its influence upon the slave's interests; joyfully according honor to the Government, for every deed done for freedom.

The real nature of the struggle in which the abolitionists have been engaged during the last thirty years, is now better understood by the people of the United States than ever before. God's voice, in the thunders of war, has pierced deaf ears; His lightnings have flashed into closed eyes, which would neither hear nor see outraged humanity, in the person of the American slave. At last, the nation is learning that in the rights of the slave their own were represented; and that as his cause was lost or won, humanity was vanquished or victorious. For there has been nothing new in our contest but its form. It is the old battle between Democracy and Aristocracy, waged in every land, "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son," through countless generations. On one side, the rights of *Man, as Man*; on the other, the usurped privileges of tyrants. The shock of the conflict has upheaved kingdoms and overturned thrones; its fury has destroyed nations; and the world has resounded with the shouts of its victors and the cries of its vanquished. In this country, for more than a quarter of a century, its combatants have been the slaveholders and their allies on one side, and on the other the Abolitionists. On one side was the denial of man's inalienable right to freedom; on the other, its absolute assertion. In

this struggle we pledged ourselves to the use of moral weapons alone, firmly believing in their power to gain this new conquest in the long warfare. This faith was justified when, in the autumn of 1860, the regenerated public opinion of the Northern States issued its mandate to the Slave Power,—"Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;" and the South shrieked, in anger and ill-concealed terror, "The Government is in the hands of Abolitionists; we will dissolve the Union!" In the year 1853 the Attorney General of the United States announced: "If there be any purpose more fixed than another in the mind of the President and those with whom he is accustomed to consult, it is that the dangerous element of Abolitionism, under whatever guise or form it may present itself, shall be crushed out, so far as his administration is concerned." And throughout the length and breadth of the land, the people cried, "Amen! so let it be;" and Church, and State, and mob; pulpit, press, and drawing-room, were eager rivals in the execution of this purpose. In 1864, one of the leading journals of our enemies thus testifies to the result of the struggle: "Is it not a fact that the Abolitionists command all the power of the North? It is. Is it not a fact that we Democrats are unable to wrench that power out of their hands? It is. Is it not a fact that the power of the South must, *per force*, give way to the power of the North? It is. And is it not a fact that the

Abolitionists are determined to carry out their principle, as first conceived by themselves, and as now enforced on the entire country by the resolve of the rebels to subdue the North? It is. It is, therefore, a fact, that slavery is doomed. We, the Democracy, do not like this; but our dislike can effect nothing. There are facts before us, and, *nolens volens*, we must accept them. *The Abolitionists have won the game.*"

In this result we see only the triumph of principles; of Truth over Falsehood, of Right over Wrong; a victory which will be universal, because "the earth is the Lord's," and He is "the Governor among the Nations." "His right hand, and His holy arm, hath gotten Him this victory."

Bright shines the Star of Hope on our new year. All is not yet won for Freedom; but each day, dawning with new victories, foretells the swiftly approaching hour when American Slavery shall give up the ghost. Illinois, Maryland, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Missouri, Maine, Ohio, and Virginia, have ratified its doom.*

All honor to Maryland, who so recently washed her robes, and received her consecration at the altar of Liberty! Her eager hand was the first to seize the pen to sign this death-warrant, though while, with

* Since the presentation of this Report, Indiana, Nevada and Wisconsin, have ratified the amendment.

unwonted fingers, she slowly traced the letters, Illinois followed quickly, and first completed her signature. With hope and faith, and joy and gratitude, we wait for the last.

Quickly upon the footsteps of emancipation have followed the "fruits of righteousness" promised to those who execute justice towards the oppressed. In Louisiana, a common-school system, that great educator of a Free People, is established; in Missouri this blessing is extended to a class of its children hitherto denied it; and a steady stream of immigration is pouring into Maryland, to enrich her population, and "build her old waste places."

The danger to the Nation which is now to be feared and avoided, lies in the path of reconstruction. The madness of the Slave Power, which sought the overthrow of the Government, and which accomplished the secession of ten States from the Union, has armed the Nation with weapons for the defence and maintenance of Liberty, which it has not before possessed since the adoption of our Federal Constitution. These ten States are asking, or will soon be asking, re-admission to our Union; and the voice of the people, through the Congress of the United States, will prescribe the conditions of their return. Once before in the history of this Nation, its Representatives assembled solemnly to deliberate and decide upon conditions of Union, and to seal the destinies of coming generations. Sitting

in judgment upon Slavery, holding its doom in their hands, they did not execute its death-sentence; but, for the sake of peace, of conciliation, of UNION, they gave it what they regarded as a short lease of life. The terrible consequences of their fatal mistake have culminated in the tragedy of our civil war. To-day, the Providence of God gives the Nation another opportunity to decide this momentous question, and to retrieve, partially, the mistakes of the past. With the lessons of eighty years to warn and guide them, with the consciousness that the extraordinary power which resides in the Federal Government to-day, will soon pass from it, perhaps never to return, will they repeat the error of the fathers, and fail to establish universal liberty, and hedge it about with every possible defence? If they have read those lessons; if they are not deaf to the voice of God in his warnings, and insensible to the mercy which gives them this opportunity of salvation, they will require of every revolted State which would return to this Union a form of State Government which shall secure, by his own right of suffrage, the liberty of the black man. Only with this weapon in his hand can he be safely left in a community of proud, defeated tyrants, so recently his masters. Now the United States can protect him with its military power. The moment that those revolted States are admitted into the Union, he must pass under the control of their governments, and the shield

of Federal authority can no longer come between him and the cruel oppression which, in countless forms, they may inflict, without reducing him to chattel slavery. In enfranchising a race, in restoring the liberty it has so long wickedly withheld, the Nation is surely under the highest obligation to restore with it that safeguard of freedom which it regards as so necessary to the protection of its white citizens. In its hour of repentance and restitution, a noble and generous People would hasten to offer every atonement in its power, and would mourn over the impossibility of full reparation.

We rejoice to believe that in both Houses of Congress there are men who will urge the Nation to the full measure of its duty in this respect; and we record, with pleasure, the fact that the necessity of protecting the enfranchised slave with the suffrage, has been ably and eloquently defended by a Representative of our own State and city.*

We rejoice, too, that among the daily journals of our city there are staunch champions for Freedom, and the rights of man, irrespective of color. Of these, the *Press*, the *North American*, and the *Evening Bulletin*, deserve honorable notice.

The duty which yet remains for the abolitionists to perform, is to stand at their posts a little longer,

* Hon. Wm. D. Kelley.

watching with jealous care the interests of the slave, until his last fetter shall be broken; and the Constitutional prohibition of Slavery shall become the law of the land. It was this jealousy for his interests, this fidelity to his cause, which created a diversity of opinion and sentiment among us relative to the last Presidential election. Those who feared to entrust the protection of the slave's rights to the care of Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet, withheld from him their support; and those who believed that the interests of Freedom would be safe under his administration, advocated his re-election.

Our work is almost done. As we look into each other's faces to-day, our hearts involuntarily exclaim: "The Lord is risen indeed!" Fit greeting for this glad anniversary! Some whom we miss from our ranks are, doubtless, mingling in our joy. Two valiant champions of Freedom,* whose names will occupy an honorable place in our Congressional annals, for their fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause in its martyr-age, have, during the past year, finished their earthly labors and gone to their reward. And he whose name shines brightly on a more glorious page of History,† first in the roll of signatures to the Declaration of Anti-Slavery sentiments, proclaimed in this city in 1833, has filled up the measure of his

* Joshua R. Giddings and Owen Lovejoy.

† Thomas Whitson.

well-spent days, and bowed his hoary head in death, just as the trumpet-blast of victory burst upon his ear.

From these seats to-day, we miss familiar faces of fellow-laborers, who, on our last anniversary, greeted, with us, the bright promise of the opening year. The most venerable of our band,* whose heart beat warm and true towards the oppressed, has passed away. And one who was not a less faithful and earnest co-adjutor of ours, because her name is not enrolled in our Association,† has left us, in the prime of life, to mourn her departure and cherish her memory.

And many, many, more the year has borne from us, of illustrious or unknown names, who, in camp, or field, or hospital, have given their lives to the cause of Human Liberty, content to die that the Nation might truly live.

These, our fellow-laborers, who have received their discharge before us, wait in heaven as we on earth, with ear attent, to catch the first tones of our new, unflawed Liberty Bell, (sweetest music that ever went up to God from America,) which shall

“Ring out the darkness of the Land;
Ring in the Christ that is to be.”

* Sarah Jackson.

† Elizabeth H. Newbold.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with
 ANNIE SHOEMAKER, Treasurer.

| 1864. | DR. | |
|---------------|--|----------|
| 2d mo. | To Rent of room for Annual Meeting..... | \$ 5 00 |
| | “ Advertising..... | 1 90 |
| | “ Subscription to N. Anti-Slavery Standard (50 copies)..... | 125 00 |
| | “ Subscription to Liberator (10 copies)..... | 30 00 |
| 4th mo. | “ Printing Annual Report..... | 38 81 |
| | “ Postage..... | 2 40 |
| | “ Donation to Penn. Anti-Slavery Society..... | 50 00 |
| | “ Rent of room for stated meetings..... | 9 00 |
| 2d mo., 1865. | By balance in Treasury..... | 73 39 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | \$335 50 |

| 1864. | CR. | |
|---------------|--|----------|
| 2d mo. | By balance in Treasury | \$47 91 |
| | “ Members' subscriptions..... | 63 50 |
| | “ Sale of articles from Fair | 1 50 |
| 3d mo. | “ Donations from various persons..... | 17 00 |
| | “ Donation from Miss Sturch, of London (£20) | 167 09 |
| 10th mo. | “ Sale of articles from A. S. Office..... | 8 50 |
| 2d mo., 1865. | Dividend on 20 shares of Stock of Penn'a. Hall Association..... | 30 00 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | \$335 50 |

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, Auditor.

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE.

The vote in the House of Representatives, in Congress, Jan. 31st, 1865, upon the adoption of the joint resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing and prohibiting slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States, was as follows:

YEAS 118 (Democrats 16, in *Italic*.)

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Messrs. Allison, Iowa, | King, Missouri, |
| Ames, Mass., | Knox, Missouri, |
| Anderson, Ky., | Littlejohn, New York, |
| Arnold, Illinois, | Loan, Missouri, |
| Ashley, Ohio, | Longyear, Michigan, |
| Bailey, Pennsylvania, | Marvin, New York, |
| Baldwin, Michigan, | McAllister, Pennsylvania, |
| Baldwin, Massachusetts, | McBride, Oregon, |
| Baxter, Vermont, | McClurg, Missouri, |
| Beaman, Michigan, | McIndoe, Wisconsin, |
| Blane, Maine, | Miller, New York, |
| Blair, West Virginia, | Morehead, Pennsylvania, |
| Blow, Missouri, | Morrill, Vermont, |
| Boutwell, Mass., | Morris, New York, |
| Boyd, Missouri, | A. Myers, Pennsylvania, |
| Brandegee, Conn., | L. Myers, Pennsylvania, |
| Broomall, Pennsylvania, | Nelson, New York, |
| Brown, West Virginia, | Norton, Illinois, |
| Ambrose W. Clark, N. Y., | Odell, New York, |
| Freeman Clark, New York, | O'Neill, Pennsylvania, |
| Cobb, Wisconsin, | Orth, Indiana, |
| Coffroth, Pennsylvania, | Patterson, New York, |
| Colfax, Indiana, | Perham, Maine, |
| Cole, California, | Pike, Maine, |
| Creswell, Maryland, | Pomeroy, New York, |
| Davis, Indiana, | Price, Iowa, |
| Davis, New York, | Radford, New York, |
| Dawes, Massachusetts, | Randall, Kentucky, |
| Deming, Connecticut, | Rice, Massachusetts, |
| Dixon, Rhode Island, | Rice, Maine, |
| Donnelly, Minnesota, | Rollins, New Hampshire, |
| Driggs, Michigan, | Rollins, Missouri, |
| Dumont, Indiana, | Schenck, Ohio, |
| Eckley, Ohio, | Scofield, Pennsylvania, |
| Eliot, Massachusetts, | Shannon, California, |
| English, Connecticut, | Sloan, Wisconsin, |
| Farnsworth, Illinois, | Smith, Kentucky, |
| Frank, New York, | Smithers, Delaware, |
| Ganson, New York, | Spalding, Ohio, |
| Garfield, Ohio, | Starr, New Jersey, |
| Gooch, Massachusetts, | Steele, New York, |
| Grinnell, Iowa, | Stearns, Pennsylvania, |
| Griswold, N. Y., | Thayer, Pennsylvania, |

Hale, Pennsylvania,
Herrick, New York,
Higby, California,
Hooper, Massachusetts,
Hotchkiss, New York,
Hubbard, Iowa,
Hubbard, Connecticut,
Hubbard, New York,
Hutchins, Ohio,
Ingersoll, Illinois,
Jenckes, Rhode Island,
Julian, Indiana,
Kasson, Iowa,
Kelley, Pennsylvania,
Kellogg, Michigan,
Kellogg, New York,

Thomas, Maryland,
Tracy, Pennsylvania,
Upson, Michigan,
Van Valkenburg, N. Y.
Washburne, Illinois,
Washburne, Massachusetts,
Webster, Maryland,
Whaley, West Virginia,
Wheeler, Wisconsin,
Williams, Pennsylvania,
Wilder, Kansas,
Wilson, Iowa,
Windham, Minnesota,
Woodbridge, Vermont,
Worthington, Nevada,
Yeaman, Kentucky.

WATER 58—ALL DEMOCRATS.

J. C. Allen, Illinois,
W. J. Allen, Illinois,
Ancona, Pennsylvania,
Bliss, Ohio,
Brooks, New York,
Brown, Wisconsin,
Chanler, New York,
Clay, Kentucky,
Cox, Ohio,
Cravens, Indiana,
Dawson, Pennsylvania,
Denison, Pennsylvania,
Eden, Illinois,
Edgerton, Indiana,
Eldridge, Wisconsin,
Finck, Ohio,
Grider, Kentucky,
Hale, Missouri,
Harding Kentucky,
Harrington, Indiana,
Harris, Maryland,
Harris, Illinois,
Holman, Indiana,
Johnson, Pennsylvania,
Johnson, Ohio,
Kalbfleisch, New York,
Kernan, New York,
Knapp, Illinois,

Law, Indiana,
Long, Ohio,
Mallory, Kentucky,
Miller, Pennsylvania,
Morris, Ohio,
Morrison, Illinois,
Noble, Ohio,
O'Neil, Ohio,
Pendleton, Ohio,
Perry, New Jersey,
Pruyn, New York,
Randall, Pennsylvania,
Robinson, Illinois,
Ross, Illinois,
Scott, Missouri,
Steele, New Jersey,
Stiles, Pennsylvania,
Strouse, Pennsylvania,
Stuart, Illinois,
Sweat, Maine,
Townsend, New York,
Wadsworth, Kentucky,
Ward, New York,
White, J. W., Ohio,
White, C. A., Ohio,
Winfield, New York,
Ben. Wood, New York,
F. Wood, New York.

ABSENT OR NOT VOTING 8—ALL DEMOCRATS.

Lazear, Pennsylvania,
Leblonde, Ohio,
Marcy, New Hampshire,
McDowell, Indiana,

McKinney, Ohio,
Middleton, New Jersey,
Rogers, New Jersey,
Voorhees, Indiana.